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Lincoln Room

ADDRESS
OF THE
DEMOCRATS IN CONGRESS
TO THE PEOPLE OF THE UNITED STATES.

PLATFORM OF THE WISCONSIN DEMOCRACY.

SPEECHES OF
HON. JAMES R. DOOLITTLE.

ADDRESS OF THE DEMOCRATS IN CONGRESS, DELIVERED APRIL 20, 1871.

"Our presence and official duties at Washington have enabled us to become fully acquainted with the actions and designs of those who control the radical party, and we feel called on to utter a few words of warning against the alarming advance they have made toward centralization. The power is in the hands of Congress and the Executive. The time and attention of Radical leaders have been almost wholly directed to developing such legislation as will, in their view, best preserve their ascendancy, and no regard for the wise restraints imposed by the Constitution has checked their reckless and desperate career. The President of the United States has been formally announced as a candidate for re-election. The declarations of his selfish supporters have been echoed by a subsidized press, and a disciplined party has already made adhesion to his personal fortunes.

"Partisan legislation has been shaped in secret caucus, where extremists' councils always predominated, and adopted by a subservient majority, if not with an intent certainly with an effort, to place in the hands of the President power to command his own renomination, and to employ the navy, army and militia at his sole discretion, as a means subservient to his personal ambition. When the sad experience of the last two years, so disappointing to the hopes and generous confidence of the country, is considered in connection with

the violent utterances and rash purpose of those who control the President's policy, it is not surprising that the gravest apprehensions for the future peace of the nation should have been entertained.

At a time when labor is depressed and every material interest is pampered by oppressive taxation, public offices have been multiplied beyond all precedent, to serve as instruments in perpetuating power.

Partizanship has been the only test applied in the distribution of this vast patronage. Honesty, fitness and moral worth are openly discarded in favor of truckling submission and dishonorable compliance. Hence enormous defalcations and widespread corruption have followed as a natural consequence this pernicious system.

"By an official report of the Secretary of the Treasury it appears, after deductions of all proper credits, that many millions of dollars remain due from ex-Collectors of Internal Revenue, and no proper diligence has ever been used to collect them. Reforms in the revenue which all experience demonstrates, is necessary, frugal administration of the government as well as a measure of relief to an overburdened people has been persistently postponed or wilfully neglected. Congress now adjourns without having attempted to reduce taxation or repeal glaring impositions by which industry is crushed and impoverished. The treasury is overflowing and an excess of eighty millions of revenue is ad-

mitted, and yet instead of some measure for present relief, a barren and delusive resolution is passed by the Senate to consider the tariff and excise systems hereafter, as if the history of broken pledges and pretended remedies furnish any better assurance for future legislation than experience has done in the past. Ship building and the carrying trade, once a source of national pride and prosperity now languish under the crushing load of taxation and nearly every other business interest is struggling without profit to maintain itself.

Our agriculturalists while paying a heavy tax on all they consume, either to the government or the monopolists, find the prices for their own products so reduced that honest labor is denied its just reward, and industry is prostrated by invidious discrimination. Nearly 200,000,000 acres of public lands, which should have been reserved for the benefit of the people, have been voted away to giant corporations, neglecting our soldiers and enriching a handful of greedy speculators and lobbyists who are thereby enabled to exercise a most dangerous and corrupting influence over state and federal legislation. If the career of these conspirators be not checked, the downfall of free government is inevitable, and with it the elevation of a military dictator on the ruins of the republic.

Under the pretense of passing laws to enforce the Fourteenth Amendment, and for other purposes, Congress has conferred the most despotic powers upon the Executive, and provided an official machinery by which the liberties of the people are menaced and the sacred rights of local self-government in the states ignored, if not tyrannically overthrown. Modeled by the sedition laws so odious in history, they are at variance with all the sanctified theories of our institutions, and the construction given by these radical interpreters to the Fourteenth Amendment is, to use the language of an eminent senator—Mr. Trumbull of Illinois—"an annihilator of the states." Under the last enforcement bill, the executive may in his discretion thrust aside the government of any state; suspend the writ of *habeas corpus*; arrest its governor; imprison or disperse its legislature; silence its judges, and trample down its people. Under the armed heel of his troops, nothing is left to the citizens or state which can any longer be called a right; all is changed into mere sufferance.

We earnestly entreat our fellow-citizens in all parts of the Union to spare no effort to maintain peace and order: to carefully protect the rights of every citizen; to preserve kindly relations among all men, and to discountenance and discourage any vio-

lation of the rights of any portion of the people secured under the constitution by any of the amendments. Let us, in conclusion, earnestly beg of you not to aid the present attempts of radical partisans to stir up strife in the land, to renew the issues of the war, or to obstruct the return of peace and prosperity to the Southern states, because it is thus that they seek to divert the attention of the country from the corruption and extravagance of their administration of public affairs and dangerous and profligate attempts they are making toward creating a centralized military government. In the five years following the war, the radical administration have expended \$1,200,000,000 for ordinary purposes alone, being within \$200,000,000 of the aggregate amount for the same purposes in the war and in peace during the 71 years preceding June 30th 1861, not including in either case the sum paid upon the principal or interest of the public debt. It is trifling with the intelligence of the people for the radical leaders to pretend that this vast sum has been honestly expended. Hundreds of millions of it have been wantonly squandered. The expenditures of the government for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1861, were only \$92,000,000 while for precisely the same purpose—the civil list, army, navy, pensions, and Indians—\$164,000,000 were expended during the fiscal year ending June 30, 1870.

Our hopes for redress are in the calm, good sense and the sober, second thought of the American people. We call upon them to be true to themselves and to their past, and disregarding party name and minor differences, to insist upon a decent equalization of power, the restriction of federal authority within its just and proper limits, leaving to the states that control of their domestic affairs which is essential to their happiness and tranquillity and good government. Everything that malicious ingenuity could suggest has been done to irritate the people of the middle and southern states. Gross and exaggerated charges of disorder and violence have been originated in the mischievous minds of the political managers in the senate and house of representatives, to which the executive has, we regret to say, lent his aid, and thus helped to inflame the popular feeling. In all this course of hostile legislation and harsh resentment, no word of conciliation, of kind encouragement or fraternal fellowship has ever been spoken by the president or by congress to the people of the southern states. They have been addressed only in the language of proscription.

No indignation can be too stern and no scorn too severe for the assertion by the

unscrupulous radical leaders that the great democratic and conservative union party has, or can have, sympathy with disorder or violence in any part of the country, or in the deprivation of any man of his rights under the constitution. It is to protect and perpetuate the rights which every free man cherishes; to revive in all hearts the feeling of friendship, affection and harmony, which are the best guarantees of law and order, and to throw around the humblest citizen, wherever he may be, the protection of those safeguards of personal liberty which the fundamental laws of the land assure, that we invoke the aid of all good

men in the work of peace and reconciliation. We invite that generous co-operation, irrespective of all former differences of opinion, so that the harsh voice of discord may be relieved; that a new and dangerous sectional agitation may be checked; that the burdens of taxation, direct or indirect may be reduced to the lowest point consistent with good faith to every just national obligation, and with a strictly economical administration of the government, and that the states may be restored in their integrity and true relations to our federal union.

(Here follows the signatures of all representatives.)

DEMOCRATIC PLATFORM.

The representatives of the Democratic party of Wisconsin, in State Convention assembled, hereby affirm:

That we point with pride to the economical administration and limited amount of taxation that prevailed in the State under Democratic rule, as contrasted with the enormous body of taxation and profligate expenditures of the succeeding Republican State administrations; and that the Democratic party, if restored to power, will observe economy, retrenchment and reform in every department of the State Government.

That the wise restriction enacted in the 10th Amendment to the National Constitution, reserving to the states respectively and to the people all powers not delegated to the United States, is one of the strongest safeguards of popular freedom; that the acts of Congress and of the federal administration, usurping power not delegated in the Constitution and breaking down the distinctions between the powers of the State governments and those of the general government, are destructive to constitutional liberty and threaten the overthrow of our existing form of local and federal government, and tend to the establishment of a permanent centralized despotism in Congress and the national executive; and that we denounce, as a vicious offshoot of the centralizing tendencies of the general government, the frequent attempts of the agents of the federal administration to interfere in local political affairs.

That we are in favor of a tariff for revenue only; that under the pretext of raising a revenue, within the past ten years, the national congress has established and continues that enormous robbery of the masses for the enrichment of the few known as the protective tariff system, which has swept our commerce from the seas and fettered and oppressed every agricultural pursuit; a system of which the conventions of the republican party, equivocally and haltingly speak in their platforms, but which that party perpetuates in congress, and from which the people may hope for no relief but by the restoration of democratic rule.

That by corruption and profligacy, the present administration have squandered larger portions of the national domain and enormous sums from the national treasury; that it is no answer to this complaint that they have paid some portion of the national debt; for by a wise and economical use of the immense revenue which an unprecedented taxation has raised a much greater reduction in the debt should have been accomplished; but that the Democratic party opposes oppressive taxation for the mere sake of a speedy payment of the debt, believing that by wisdom and justice in the adjustment of taxes, and economy in their expenditure, the national debt may be paid with sufficient rapidity with but a light burden upon the

industry and resources of the people, and that we are opposed to all forms of national repudiation either of the debt or the pensions and bounties due the soldiers.

That, as the late amendments to the Constitution have been declared by the properly constituted authorities to be a part of the fundamental law of the land, they are binding upon the people; that the Democratic party now as in the past know no higher law than the Constitution; that the time-honored principle of strict construction applied by its framers and accepted by the wisest statesmen and jurists of the country should be observed in all legislation by Congress relating to the constitution and its amendments, that the Democratic party is opposed to the withdrawal of civil and political rights from any class of the people, and that we demand the removal of all political disqualifications.

That the defalcations, embezzlements and corruptions of the national administration and the prostitution of legislation to the demands of unscrupulous lobbies and greedy monopolies, are a national scandal and disgrace, the most dangerous blow to the public credit, and an intolerable outrage upon the tax-payers of the country.

That as the representatives of a constitutional-loving and law-abiding party, we deprecate and denounce every outbreak of lawlessness and violence whether committed at the North or at the South, and that the acts of Congress which authorize the employment of the standing army to garrison the places where elections are to be held and to constitute a local police in the States, and which empower the officers of the federal administration to interpose military force for the purpose of over-awing political conventions of the people, are subversive of free government and a perpetual menace to public liberty.

That while the people of this country hope that in the time to come they may extend the blessings of our form of government over the entire continent, the course pursued by the national administration in its efforts to annex San Domingo was an unjustifiable usurpation and a wicked attempt to lay hold of the faith of this people in their high destiny for unworthy purposes of personal gain.

That the Democratic party, now as ever, is in favor of and always will defend the widest toleration in religious opinion, regarding civil liberty and religious liberty as equally cardinal principles of free and good government.

That while it is a state duty, to foster all proper public improvements of the rivers within our borders, yet the character of the improvements begun and projected on the Fox and Wisconsin rivers, and the benefits to be derived therefrom, are such that it is a matter of national concern, which should be persistently pressed upon the attention of the federal government.

WHEREAS, Believing that no past habits of association and partizan affiliation should prevent the citizens of a free country from co-operating together for the success of principles that are necessary for the public safety and vital to the cause of good government; therefore,

Resolved, That we commend the principles herein announced to the calm and candid judgment of the people of all parties in the State, and we solicit in their behalf, and for the candidates nominated upon this platform the support and suffrages of all our honest and patriotic fellow-citizens.

SPEECH OF HON. J. R. DOOLITTLE, UPON ACCEPTING HIS NOMINATION.

GENTLEMEN:—I am deeply moved, by the confidence reposed in me, by the Convention, and no less by the manner in which it has been done. Saying that does not tell the one-half I feel at this moment.

I am profoundly grateful; and, yet, I could have wished your choice had fallen upon another. It was not sought. It was not expected. Near friends assent with reluctance, and my own inclinations do not yield without a struggle. But there are times when a man's personal wishes and interests must yield to the public judgment. I know full well how much of time and labor it will cost. But if the use of my name can do anything to save constitutional liberty and republican institutions in substance, as well as in name, from the dangers which threaten them, be it so. I yield myself to the judgment of the convention, and accept the nomination. Gentlemen, it may be proper for me, in brief words, to review the true situation. In doing so, I must speak from my own standpoint. I can speak from no other.

The last few years have witnessed great events in the history of our country. This generation has been summoned to meet great issues, duties and responsibilities—before the war; during the war; and since its close.

Some of those issues have been discussed in the forum, and decided at the polls;—others on the field of battle.

Many of them are now closed, and can never be reopened. They have passed into history.

For a few moments let me recall some of those now buried in the past, in order to state more clearly the issues and duties of the present.

First among the issues of the past I mention the repeal of the Missouri Compromise which divided, to some extent, the Democratic, and originated the Republican party.

Next came Kansas with its bloodshed,—slave code—and Leecompton Constitution, followed by war on Douglas—the secession from the Charleston Convention—the break in the Democratic party—and the election of Lincoln.

Then came Conventions and formal resolutions in favor of secession and independence in the Southern States.

These great issues upon which men, di-

vided who act together, now, each, of itself, sufficient to divide and to create political parties, were followed by the still greater issue of war;—war declared and waged for secession and independence by the South;—war declared and waged for the integrity of the Union under the constitution by the North.

During its progress, however, not only the armies, but the ideas of the North and South came in conflict; Freedom and Slavery met face to face in battle. To establish an independent confederacy upon Slavery as its corner stone, was the idea and purpose of those who led the South into secession and war; and history now records among its most memorable events, the proclamation of emancipation, and the Thirteenth Amendment, abolishing slavery forever.

At length, after four long years of blood and sacrifice, by the blessing of Heaven, and by the strength and endurance of our armies, came the final surrender of the South, and the complete triumph of the Union Army. The war was ended.

O! how our hearts went up to Almighty God;—when peace—blessed peace had come;—when blood had ceased to flow—and no more sons were to go down to battle and to death.

Hardly, however, had this first exultation come, and gone, when the new issue of reconstruction came;—to the conqueror, a more trying one, than war itself. I repeat more trying; for it was to determine whether, a party all powerful, with the sword of victory in its hands, when dealing with the vanquished, could rule its own spirit; could itself, obey the very Constitution, it had sacrificed three hundred thousand lives, and five thousand millions to maintain; whether in the day of its strength, it could keep the pledges, it made in its humiliation, and often repeated from the first battle of Bull Run, to the end of the war.

You remember, President Lincoln proposed as the basis, the restoration of the states and people of the South to their rights under the Constitution. He was opposed to reconstruction based upon disfranchisement of the whites and subjecting them to the universal suffrage of the blacks. To those who suggested it, his reply was like that of Gustavus Adolphus,

the King of Sweden, who after saving religious liberty in Germany when his officers urged him to retaliate upon his enemies, replied: "I came to break the chains of slavery for one people, and not to forge new ones for another."

With malice toward none and charity for all, pursuant to the constitution, and the provisions of an act of Congress he proclaimed the conditions of amnesty and peace.

That proclamation was approved by the whole country, including a very large majority of his own party. Had he lived I have no doubt it would have been realized; and we should have had reconstruction under the Constitution, and not military reconstruction outside of it.

Officially as president, he had proclaimed it. Unofficially in a speech the last of his life, he pleaded for it. His whole soul was in it. He was never stronger in his own party, than at that moment.

But just then he was stricken down by an assassin.

The responsibility fell upon Mr. Johnson who had less power to control that party.

From that moment the spirits of evil were unloosed. The passions of the North were inflamed; its radical leaders infuriated strengthened and emboldened. Reckless of oaths, pledges and constitutional obligations, themselves, they denounced in both houses of Congress Democrats and all others who stood for the Constitution, as little better than rebels.

With fatal blindness, or deliberate purpose, under the lead of Thaddeus Stevens, they forced upon the country a plan of reconstruction outside the Constitution involving a reconstruction of the Constitution itself by the sword; and to accomplish that, they abolished all civil law and civil government, even, in eleven states and subjected ten million people to martial law, and their lives, liberty and property to trial by Courts Martial.

It was a clear violation of the constitution; a gross usurpation of power. Mr. Stevens, their great leader, knew it, and avowed it.

When the *McArdle* case from Mississippi, which involved that question, was pending in the Supreme Court, and after it had been argued, a law was rushed through Congress, in hot haste, to take away their jurisdiction, because, they believed the court would decide the act of reconstruction unconstitutional; and, with unspeakable sorrow, we saw that court suspend its decision for Congress to pass that act. A fatal surrender!

Mr. Stevens waged an implacable war upon President Johnson, who strove, in

vain, to save the policy of his predecessor.

The struggle was long, earnest, and intense. But that policy was overborne; and reconstruction, under the Constitution, gave way to military reconstruction outside of it, and even to a reconstruction of the Constitution itself, culminating in the XIVth and XVth amendments.

General Grant, who at the beginning, was opposed to it, yielded himself to the radical policy and was elected president in 1868.

A partial reconstruction of the supreme court soon followed; and then every department of the government was brought in unison with it.

That reconstruction has been carried into effect. It has become a part of the history of the country. However much we may have opposed it, we cannot ignore the fact, that, whether fairly adopted or not, whether by force or by fraud in the elections, the fourteenth and fifteenth amendments have been proclaimed and adopted under all the forms of law, as part of the constitution of the United States; and they are formally accepted and acted upon, as such, by every department of the government.

The views and purposes of the democratic party and of all who opposed the adoption of those amendments, have been frequently called in question, and that, quite recently, by Senator Morton and Speaker Blaine, whom I regard as the leaders of the administration party.

They say in substance because the democratic party, opposed military reconstruction, and voted against those amendments in Congress and the State Legislatures, it intends when it comes into power, and come it will, to disregard those amendments and set them aside.

In saying this, they assert what they cannot know to be true, and they assert what we know cannot be true. Long before, Mr. Vallandigham said anything upon the subject the address of the democratic members of Congress declared the contrary in the following words.

"We earnestly entreat our fellow-citizens in all parts of the union to spare no effort to maintain peace and order; to carefully protect the rights of every citizen; to preserve kindly relations among all men, and to discountenance and discourage any violation of the rights of any portion of the people secured under the constitution by any of the amendments." As to Mr. Vallandigham it might have been a new departure, but to democratic members of Congress the leaders of the party it was no new departure.

How could the democratic party disregard or set aside those amendments if they would?

But three ways can be conceived or have ever been suggested.

First. By obtaining a decision of the Supreme Court, declaring them void. The present Constitution of that court makes the thing impossible, and no Democrat would propose to reconstruct the Supreme Court to reverse its decision. They honor the judiciary too much to do that. Besides it is almost certain that upon all such political questions depending upon the results of elections the judiciary would feel bound to accept and to follow the declarations of the political power—Congress and the Executive—that the Supreme Court could neither take judicial notice of events depending upon elections except as they are declared, nor form an issue to try the question of fact, whether a constitutional amendment has or has not been ratified by the legislatures of three-fourths of all the States, after the same has been proclaimed duly ratified by the proper officer under the forms of law.

Second. By proposing a new amendment to set them aside directly. This would be a legitimate mode; but is wholly impracticable. Beyond question, more than one-fourth of the States would vote against it, and three-fourths are required to carry it. The attempt to do so would renew the agitation of the negro question in another form, but could bring no practical result. Besides, all parties, North and South, are unwilling to reopen that question.

The negro is free and none would enslave him; and negro suffrage has become a fixed fact,—a thing accomplished, and

Third; The only other possible mode, is the military one, of using the army to control elections, and to change the Constitution.

Radicals, like Senator Morton, might consistently adopt this mode; for, they do not hesitate to put the army above the Constitution and the civil law, in order to control, or to set aside elections. But no man who still cherishes the doctrines of the old Democratic Republican school of Jefferson and of Jackson would dare to use the standing army for any such purpose.

Besides, the attempt to take away negro suffrage by force, would lead to a bloody struggle, probably to civil war, and without doing any good, would involve greater evils than now exist.

I should not have dwelt upon this subject so long, but for the constant efforts of our radical opponents to place us in a false position; and to charge us with the purpose of dealing with the constitution, as they, themselves have done, viz: to reconstruct it by the sword and to renew civil strife.

And now, gentlemen, let me inquire what are the issues, and duties, of the present hour?

First. In relation to these amendments, we cannot expect a decision of the supreme court to annul them—we do not propose a new amendment to set them aside;—and least of all by the sword.

But the question arises, how will you remedy the unbearable evils, which now rest upon the Southern States? You know the disfranchisement of hundreds of thousands of the most intelligent whites, and the universal suffrage of the blacks, led by adventurers, with the aid of the standing army, has subjected that people to the worst form of government, and taxed, robbed, burdened and humiliated them beyond description.

Will you ignore all that and leave them without remedy? No gentlemen. The remedy we propose is one to cure, and not to aggravate the disease. In the language of the Democratic Congressional address: "Our hopes for redress are in the calm, good sense of the sober, second thought of the American people. We call upon them to be true to themselves and to their past, and disregarding party name and minor differences, to insist upon a decent equalization of power the restriction of federal power within its just and proper limits, leaving to the states that control of their domestic affairs that is essential to their happiness and tranquility and good government."

They appeal to the reason and returning sense of justice, magnanimity and fraternal feeling of all the people North and South, in favor of Amnesty. In this appeal large numbers, thousands upon thousands of liberal Republicans like Brown and Schurz, of Missouri have already joined. The negroes themselves at the South will join in demanding amnesty for their late masters. The example of Missouri cannot long be resisted. The Choctaws and Cherokees in their treaties of peace six years ago gave universal amnesty; and, their example should shame christian white men out of a policy resting on unforgiving hate or unmanly fear.

The sentiment must become nearly universal for amnesty, and two thirds of Congress will vote for the bill.

Although late in coming it will tend to restore fraternal feeling. It will certainly restore to intelligence and character at the South, a voice once more in the management of its local affairs, and restore to those states what they have not had for years, a Republican form of Government.

Gentlemen, among other important issues of the present the greatest is this;

viz: whether our government is to be in substance if not in form, revolutionized?

Whether the federal government is to remain, as our fathers made it based upon a written constitution, limiting and defining its powers, and reserving the mass of powers not delegated to the several states and to the people; or whether it is to become a government of unlimited and centralized power? In a word, whether the United States shall continue to be a Union of States, under the constitution or become a centralized despotism, at Washington, to be ruled by the secret resolves of a caucus, and by the President at the head of the army.

Our faithful representatives at Washington, say:

"Under the pretence of passing laws to enforce the Fourteenth amendment and for other purposes, Congress has conferred the most despotic powers upon the executive, and provided an official machinery by which the liberties of the people are menaced and the sacred rights of local self-government in the states is ignored, if not tyrannically overthrown. Modeled by the sedition laws so odious in history, they are at variance with all the sanctified theories of our institutions, and the construction given by these radical interpreters to the Fourteenth amendment is, to use the language of an eminent senator—Mr. Trumbull of Illinois, "an annihilator of the states." Under the last enforcement bill, the executive may in his discretion thrust aside the government of any state; suspend the writ of habeas corpus; arrest its governor; imprison or disperse its legislature; silence its judges, and trample down its people. Under the armed heel of his troops, nothing is left to the citizens or state which can any longer be called a right: all is changed into mere sufferance."

As certain as we live this is the great issue and danger upon us now.

Everybody feels that a revolution is going on in that direction;—the very ground giving way under our feet. Radicals admit it. Some avow and justify it; and some of the best friends of Republican government fear that revolution has already gone too far to be arrested. But gentlemen let us not despair, truth will rise again.

In the nature of things, in our system of government, two forces are always at work, like the two forces in our planetary system;—the one tending to draw all planets to the centre;—the other to take them out of the system altogether.

They have been constantly struggling with each other from the beginning and from before the beginning.

As by a compromise of forces the planets were made to revolve, in their orbits

around the sun, so by a wise compromise and balance of forces, in our political system, our composite form of government was made.

To the federal government was given certain defined and delegated powers necessary to the Union, to the common defence, and to the general welfare.

All the remainder, except just enough to carry into effect the powers delegated, were reserved to the States and to the people. With men of extreme views and radical tendencies, it seems almost impossible to comprehend a limitation of rights and powers.

To illustrate: With the radicals of the South, and I might add, some at the North, before the war, the Federal Government had no rights the States were bound to respect.

The war, I think, has cured or ought to cure that delusion, but I fear it has given rise to another; for, since the war the radicals of the North seem to think the States have no rights the Federal Government is bound to respect; and, this last delusion is as dangerous to liberty as the first.

Extreme follows extreme. The pendulum, from one side of the arc, swings always to the other; and, the higher it rises on the one side, the higher it rises on the other.

The rebound from a war begun upon the southern radical's idea of all power in the States, is now, under the lead of those who control this administration, fast driving all power into the Federal Government.

I repeat, in my opinion, gentlemen, the real issue paramount over all others, at this moment, is, whether the true republican form of government of our fathers shall give way to centralization and to military despotism.

It has already made long strides in that direction.

The great duty of the democratic party, and of all who love republican liberty, is to bury all the issues of the past and to unite in an honest, earnest, self-sacrificing effort to arrest the further progress of that revolution. We can only do that by a change of administration; by restoring, as far as the constitution will allow it, to state legislatures, state judiciaries, state executives, and state military forces, the defense and maintenance of the rights and liberties of the people, which centralized power cannot defend, but will certainly destroy—by placing the civil above the military power, in all the states; by reducing the standing army—that standing menace of all republics—with its life tenures, aristocratic tendencies and extravagant expenditures to the peace standard—and by preventing its fur-

ther interference with the freedom of elections.

Other issues and duties of great importance rest upon us also, growing out of our foreign relations, finance, national debt, tariff and internal revenue reform.

Gentlemen, let us organize for victory and not for defeat in the next great contest. Many who were divided upon the issues of the past are shoulder to shoulder with us now upon the issues of the present, and many more are coming. Let them all come. Let us restore to its prestige and power the old Democratic Republican party of Jefferson, of Madison, and of Jackson.

Let us cordially invite to its support all who are with us upon the great issues involved,—all who love republican institutions as established by our fathers, in substance as well as in name; all who cherish

republican simplicity, integrity, economy and fidelity everywhere in State and Federal administration; all who would lighten the heavy pecuniary burdens of our people by their more equal and just distribution; and all who, while maintaining the national faith and honor inviolate, look forward with hope and courage to the return of that period when the burdens of the general government will be as light as its blessings are beneficent, when the rich will not be made richer, and the poor poorer, by act of Congress; when the federal and state governments each in their sphere, protecting the equal rights of all, and granting favors to none, shall, in the language of General Jackson bestow their blessings "like the dew of Heaven unseen and unfelt save in the richness and beauty they contribute to produce."

SPEECH OF HON. J. R. DOOLITTLE, DELIVERED AT RACINE, SEPT. 2.

FELLOW-CITIZENS, DEMOCRATS AND REPUBLICANS: Here, at my home, where I have lived among you more than 20 years, allow me to say a few words to you to-night, as neighbors and friends, without any reserve.

You have known me long and well. You know, from my youth up, I have been trained in the political schools of Jefferson, of Madison, and of Jackson. Of Jefferson, I learned to love the equal rights of men, a doctrine borrowed from the Great Teacher who said "Love thy neighbor as thyself,"—to be applied to political affairs; from Him I learned to hate every form of tyranny over the bodies and the souls of men. [Applause]. From Madison I learned to cherish that which distinguishes us above all nations, viz., written constitutions, in order to define and limit the powers of all governments, state and federal; that without such limitation the rights and liberties of no man and no people can be secure in the states; and, that as between the state governments and the federal government, unless the latter be limited by the constitution to the powers delegated, and the states and people be left free to regulate their own domestic affairs in their own way, all power will be centralized, and republicanism give way to imperialism. [Applause.] In the school of Jackson I learned to love the union of the states, and to oppose nullification and secession; and, as to all the powers delegated, to cherish the constitution which made that union as the higher law of liberty and of national life. [Applause.]

These ideas, amidst the troublous times through which we have passed, amidst all

the confusion and mutations of parties, have been the guide and the secret of my life. I may sometimes have erred. But to those great ideas, which in my judgment are the basis of all true republican government, and which are now the basis of the democratic-republican party, as organized in this state, and organizing everywhere throughout the union, I have at all times steadfastly adhered, in good and evil reports, in sunshine and in storm, whether cheered or denounced by many or by few. [Great applause.]

And my friends, do you ask me the secret of that strength, the power of that faith, which in danger knows no fear, and in darkness feels no doubt. The simple answer is, I believe. In my soul, I believe those ideas are true, and truth is everlasting,—the same yesterday, to-day, and forever,—and the soul that reposes upon truth leans on the Almighty for its strength.

HIS CANDIDACY.

A few words now of a personal nature. I find I shall not be able to enter fully into the canvass until after the middle of the month, having some private engagements which cannot be postponed.

The action of the convention at Madison in placing me in nomination for governor, was wholly unexpected to us all, and to no one more than to myself. Being at work at Madison as an arbitrator, my friends in Racine county named me as a delegate, and desired me to speak to the convention. I consented to do that; but I had no thought of being named for governor, or that the speech I had prepared would become a speech of acceptance. But there was such

a unanimous, warm, and earnest appeal to me to accept that I could not do otherwise. It was the old men who appealed to me in the name of the young democracy. They said, all old issues are passed away; that the young men were earnest, persistent, enthusiastic, eager for work and sanguine of victory, and that many republican were everywhere ready to join with us. They said, in substance, "The old democratic-republican party is rising again from the ashes of the past, redeemed, regenerated, and disenthralled from all dead issues, freed from old hates and old prejudices, and if I would consent to be placed at the head of that ticket, against Gen. Washburn, who was sure to be nominated by the federal office-holders as their candidate, they could carry Wisconsin this fall." It was assurances and appeals like these, which come from every part of the state, which prevailed, and the nomination was accepted.

THE ISSUES.

I observe some of the radical newspapers say that the action of our convention was a mere matter of form. Never were men more mistaken. How do they know that? Our convention certainly did not say that, and, judging from its action it means anything but that. Its spirit, unanimity, enthusiasm, mean earnest work; a struggle for truth, justice, liberty, and equality, under a government of limited powers. It says, as to the dead issues of the past, "Let the dead bury their dead." As to the living issues of the present, it says, "Strike hands with all those who are already with you and with all who are willing to join you upon the living issues, whether they have been with you or against you upon the dead ones." [Applause.]

The committee calling our convention, following the suggestions of the address of the democratic and conservative members of congress, invited all to unite in choosing delegates who believed in the doctrines announced, and also to take part in its proceedings. The convention, its platform, and candidates, all speak the same language.

They invite all democrats, and invite all republicans to unite together as a band of brothers upon the living issues of the present; to march shoulder to shoulder in the present struggle, upon the footing of perfect equality, with a strong resolve to deserve and to achieve victory.

As I stated in my speech of acceptance, the main issue before us is, whether the rights of the states to regulate their own domestic affairs should be respected, or whether all power should be centralized at Washington. I repeat that statement of the issue, and I ask every honest republican in this state, if that centralizing pow-

er was not felt in the republican convention which nominated Gen. Washburn? I ask you, my republican friends, do you not feel at this moment, here in Wisconsin, the workings of that centralizing power?

GEN. WASHBURN

is my personal friend, and of him I shall never speak in any other terms than of friendship and esteem, and shall undoubtedly accept his invitation to canvass the state. But how was his nomination made? Was it not the pressure of the federal patronage and power, which produced it? True, it did not at Madison what it lately did at New Orleans, place a company of soldiers at the door of the convention to exclude all who had no tickets from the administration. We have not quite come to that yet in Wisconsin. But do you not feel that it was the army of federal officeholders who dictated that nomination? The men who led that army wore no epaulettes, but they wielded federal powers and produced that result. Are there not thousands—many thousands—of republicans in Wisconsin who have not yet yielded to the revolution in favor of centralization, who are ready, now that all old issues are closed up, to rebuke this federal dictation and assert the rights of a free state to nominate as well as to elect its own officers? Can there be a better time to do so than now? "Now's the day and now's the hour."

MILITARY GOVERNMENT.

Military ideas are good enough in war, but wholly out of place in the civil administration of a republican government, for that rests upon the people, to whom their chosen officers or agents are responsible. With army men, we know obedience is the word, on pain of imprisonment or of death. The private soldier is a mere machine. But in republican government every man is a sovereign, and the officers chosen are responsible to him, and not he to them. [Applause.] Leaders of a party long in power learn to prefer the military to the republican idea, and to act as if they were the masters and not the servants of the people. A change is sometimes necessary to get rid of the domination of leaders, and to teach them over again their first lesson, that in republican freedom the people rule their servants, and not that the servants shall rule their masters. [Great applause.]

THE CANVASS.

I do not intend to make a long speech to-night. When our central committee and my associates shall look the ground over, and assign to me my share in the great work, after the canvass opens I purpose to discuss quite thoroughly the questions involved; as to the best means of

restoring fraternal feeling between the north and south; of healing the wounds of war; of removing the evils growing out of military reconstruction and carpet-bag rule at the south, and to answer the arguments of Senator Morton, and of those who repeat them. For the present I will only read part of a statement made by a confederate officer in presence of 1,200 confederate soldiers, gathered together at a social reunion in Missouri. I wish every republican could read it. I refer to the speech of ex-Gov. Reynolds, of Missouri, an officer in the rebel army. It shows

WHAT ENFRANCHISEMENT HAS DONE IN MISSOURI,

and clearly vindicates the course of its present able governor, B. Gratz Brown, and that senator, formerly a resident of our state, who, I think, as an orator has few equals, and as a writer no superior in America—Carl Schurz. I refer to their course in urging universal amnesty as a basis of permanent peace. Missouri has demonstrated that love is stronger than hate; that deeds of charity and forgiveness can win what acts of oppression and humiliation can never wring from the hearts of brave men,—loyalty and affection.

Read it fellow citizens, and ask your neighbors to read it. Manhood, renewed loyalty, and affection breathe in every word. It reaches every heart.

In his speech at Roanoke, Mo., on the 23d of August last, he said:

“We meet together for the first time in the six years which have passed since the close of the war, and one of the first impulses of every one of us must be to congratulate ourselves on the course of events which has led to our re-infranchisement as citizens of Missouri. We, of course, find not a few who claim our special gratitude to themselves as the authors or engineers of the movement which resulted in that change. Without denying to any one the praise he may be entitled to for his course in advocating a measure which had become inevitable, we must be permitted to remember that we owe it mainly to ourselves, to the wise, patriotic, and self-respecting conduct of the Missouri confederates in quietly attending to their private affairs during the period of our disfranchisement, and thus convincing our late foes, by deeds rather than words, that there was no danger to the peace and welfare of the state in restoring us to political equality with themselves.

“By a like course in the use of our recovered birth-right we can and should contribute to the peace and prosperity of our noble state and of the whole union. It is

solely with that view that, believing that I well know your feelings and opinions, I venture to indicate them on some few points.

“While all merely political questions of the day are, by our own free decision, excluded from consideration on this occasion, there are other subjects not yet brought into the arena of actual political strife, but specially referring to us, on which it is almost a duty to ourselves and the country that our views should be known. There are certain ghosts of dead questions which haunt the imagination of some of our people, and in aiding to allay them we contribute to the welfare of our common country. Senator Morton in a very able and candid speech, has expressed apprehensions which, as the discourse was delivered last week in the chief city of our state, it will not be out of place for us to notice here and now. They were, that at some future period the existing settlement of the issues of the late war might be disturbed by a refusal to pay interest on the United States debt, or an assumption of the debt of the late confederate states and compensation for emancipated slaves; by a refusal to pay the pensions granted to union soldiers, or a grant of like pensions to those of the confederacy.

“It may with almost absolute certainty be asserted that as far as the confederates of Missouri, and, I am confident, those of other states, are concerned, these fears are wholly groundless. We have played at the grand game of civil war, and so ably as to gain the admiration of the world and the respect of magnanimous opponents. We lost it for want of trumps, but we dress at least our fair share of the honors.

“Confederates, and especially Missourians, are not the men to attempt afterward to filch the stakes from the winner. The payment of the interest on the United States debt, and the principal of it when due, and both as contracted for, is secured by a principle stronger than any constitutional amendment. The prosperity of all the people as individuals is so intimately connected with the preservation of the public credit that, on a mere calculation of profit and loss, it is better to preserve the latter as the basis of the former. We confederates have as much interest in preserving both as any other citizens. No one who is familiar with events in the confederacy in the last years of the war will ever dream of an assumption by any one of any of its obligations, whether in bonds or for loss of property in slaves, or anything else. Not only by general public law, but also by the express terms of the contract, every creditor of the confederacy made his repayment dependent upon the establishment of

its independence, and, as it failed to secure it, he has no claim, either legal or moral. You, soldiers, know that, even when success was possible, the common talk in the camps was that the amount actually received by the confederacy for its bonds and notes was in such ridiculous disproportion to the amount promised to be paid that no sense of abstract law or justice would secure their payment.

"How then would you receive a proposal now, to tax yourselves to pay anything whatever on them when bought up, as they certainly would be, on any prospect of gain on them, by sordid speculators, for a mere song? With regard to losses of property, from the horses which many of you whom I now see before me had killed under you in some gallant charge, up to the millions lost in slaves by some unionist or lukewarm planter, who denied you their labor to aid you in erecting breastworks against federal balls, all must go alike the road which universal public law marks out for the unsuccessful in civil war. One pays his stake in life or limb; another in loss of property, or exile, or both. Let each one support manfully the adverse fortune of war, and not degrade the cause for which he fought by going about to the victors, whining for compensation.

"You, at least, and I believe nearly all confederates, will not countenance anyone in so doing. The pension questions will be summarily disposed of by anyone who knows the confederate soldiers. For us to accept any compensation from the government against which we fought, would be to receive alms; it is to be hoped no demagogues will ever insult us by proposing to us any such meanness. To the union soldier his pension is an honorable distinction conferred on him by the government he served, and, according to law or usage, a part of compensation pledged to him before he entered the service. Opposing armies have a certain feeling of fellowship, as even the general public began to notice in the intercourse between the federal and general outposts; if any demagogue proposes to take their pensions from union soldiers, let them call across the line to us if they need help, and we will march with them in solid column to the ballot-box to put the swindle down."

After reading that, we may not agree with all he says, but can anyone doubt that amnesty is the best way to restore harmony and fraternal feeling in all of the states of the south? Does not that answer all that Senator Morton says about the repudiation of our national debt; of our soldiers' pensions, and of the assumption of the confederate debt?

THE FINANCIAL SITUATION.

It will be my purpose also during the canvass to discuss the great questions of taxation, finance, revenue and tariff reform and the best manner of simplifying and economizing in the collection of taxes and revenue; and to relieve and equalize, as far as possible, the heavy burdens, and to apportion them in some proportion, to the ability to bear them.

You all remember that Gen. Washburn told the people of Racine, in our joint discussion here in 1868, that the people were never so prosperous as since the close of the war. Speaker Blaine has also indulged in the same strain quite recently. But it must be borne in mind that within the past few years Mr. Blaine has become a very rich man, a millionaire, it is said; and how can he sympathize with or know the true condition of the common people, or the burdens they now bear?" We all know that while the fortunate few may have become suddenly rich and are above all pecuniary troubles, the great mass of the people, professional men, small merchants, traders, mechanics, farmers, and laborers never felt the burden of taxation and the struggle for a respectable and honest livelihood more than now. To show

HOW WE ARE NOW TAXED

I read from a list which I have had no time to verify by actual computation, but which I believe to be correct. A gentleman previously engaged in commerce, who understands his subject, has taken pains to see what the duties are upon a few leading articles. Look at the list. The poor man is taxed:

	Per cent.
On his salt.....	108
On his pepper.....	140
On his rice.....	85
On his soap.....	70
On his starch.....	51
On his candles.....	40
On the sheets of his bed.....	55
On the blankets that cover him.....	240
On the carpet he buys.....	30
On his window curtains.....	80
On his knives and forks.....	35
On his window glass.....	55
On his water pitcher.....	40
On the hat he wears.....	40
On his stockings.....	75
On a dress of silk for his wife.....	60
On a dress of woolen.....	100
On a shawl.....	200
On a handkerchief.....	25

The farmer is taxed:

	Per cent.
On his hoe and spade, each.....	41
On his horse-shoes.....	67
On his plow.....	45
On his chairs.....	100
On his harness.....	25
On a hand-saw.....	75
On a penknife.....	50
On a dinner can.....	35
On an iron-hoop pail.....	60

For the present, I will conclude what I have to say in answer to Speaker Blaine on this subject by reading to you the most eloquent and truthful account of our present condition, in the language of Sidney Smith, written more than 40 years ago. I once read this on the floor of the senate. It describes our condition now so perfectly, it seemed so like prophesy, that senators sprang to their feet to inquire the name of the author. I commend it for its truth, and, as a specimen of writing of unequalled simplicity and force, I commend it to every young man. Let him read it again and again. Let him learn it by heart, and when Gen. Washburn or Speaker Blaine shall tell you how rich you are and how light all your burdens are, repeat it to them:

"Taxes upon every article which enters into the mouth, or covers the back, or is placed under the foot; taxes upon everything which it is pleasant to see, hear, feel, smell, or taste; taxes upon warmth, light, and locomotion; taxes on everything on earth and the waters under the earth; on everything that comes from abroad or is grown at home: taxes on the raw material; taxes on every fresh value that is added to it by the industry of man; taxes on the sauce which pampers man's appetite, and the drug that restores him to health; on the ermine which decorates the judge, and the rope which hangs the criminal; on the poor man's salt, and the rich man's spice; on the brassnails of the coffin, and the ribbons of the bride; at bed or board, couchant or levant, we must pay.

"The schoolboy whirls his taxed top; the beardless youth manages his taxed horse with a taxed bridle on a taxed road; and the dying Englishman, pouring his medicine which has paid 7 per cent. into a spoon that has paid 15 per cent. flings himself back upon his chintz bed which has paid 22 per cent. makes this will on an £8 stamp, and expires in the arms of an apoth-

ecary who has paid a license of a hundred pounds for privilege of putting him to death. His whole property is then immediately taxed from 2 to 16 per cent. Besides the probate, a large fees are demanded for burying him in the chancel; his virtues are handed down to posterity on taxed marble and he is then gathered to his fathers, to be taxed no more. [Great applause,]

Listen again to his prophetic warnings to us:

"In addition to all this, the habit of dealing with large sums will make the government avaricious and profuse; and the system itself will infallibly generate the base vermin of spies and informers, and a still more pestilent race of political tools and retainers of the meanest and most odious description; while the prodigious patronage which the collecting of this splendid revenue will throw into the hands of the government will invest it with so vast an influence, and hold out such means and temptation to corruption as all the virtue and public spirit even of republicans will be unable to resist." [Great applause.]

With very slight modification, it describes our condition and points out one of our greatest dangers.

IN CONCLUSION,

I observe that the newspaper at Gen. Washburn's home at La Crosse, in announcing my nomination, said that my funeral had already taken place, my requiem had been sung, "Ashes to ashes, dust to dust." Fellow-citizens, men are sometimes mistaken, and never more so than when the pride of erroneous opinion misleads them. In their zeal, they often forget that "Truth crushed to earth will rise again," and that those who have suffered for the truth's sake, touched by her hand, will rise and triumph with her, and compel even her enemies to "believe in the resurrection and the life." [Great applause.]

Abstract of Proceedings of the Democratic State Convention.

The Convention met at Madison Aug. 23 and was called to order by Hon. Andrew Proudfit, Chairman of the State Central Committee. On motion Hon. H. L. Palmer was chosen temporary Chairman of the Convention and was afterwards selected as permanent Chairman by the Committee on permanent organization.

Hon. O. F. Jones and E. B. Bolens Esq., were chosen Secretaries.

On an informal ballot for Governor, Hon. Jas. R. Doolittle received 123 out of 152 votes cast, and on motion was declared unanimous nominee of the convention.

The other officers chosen were as follows:

For Lieut. Governor—

JOHN A. RICE, of Waukesha.

For Secretary of State—

MILTON MONTGOMERY, of Monroe.

For State Treasurer—

ANTON KLAUS, of Brown.

For Attorney General—

E. S. BRAGG, of Fond du Lac.

For State Prison Commissioner—

LARS E. JOHNSON, of La Fayette.

For Superintendent of Public Instruction—

W. D. PARKER, of Rock.

For Commissioner of Immigration—

JACOB BODDEN, of Dodge.

Mr. Orton, of La Fayette offered a resolution providing for the election of Chairman of the State Central Committee by ballot, and the appointment by delegates from each Congressional District of the other members of the Committee, which was adopted.

Convention proceeded to the selection of Chairman and other members of the State Central Committee which resulted as follows:

J. B. Parkinson was unanimously elected Chairman.

1st. Dist.—Otis Preston, Elkhorn; J. P. C. Cottrill, Milwaukee.

2nd Dist.—D. W. Ballou, Watertown; E. E. Chapin, Columbus.

3d Dist.—J. G. Knight, Darlington; R. B. Rice, Lancaster.

4th Dist.—F. O. Thorpe, Fond du Lac; Sat. Clark, Horicon.

5th Dist.—S. A. Pease, Montello; Geo. Hyer, Oshkosh.

6th Dist.—Theo. Rodolf, La Crosse; O. F. Jones, Hudson.

The following resolution was unanimously adopted by the convention.

Resolved, That the thanks of this Convention be voted the Hon. H. L. Palmer, for the able and impartial manner in which he has discharged the duties of his position.

Convention adjourned.

A Scrap of Party History.

Judge Doolittle Vindicated.

A Letter from one who Knows the
Workings of the Radical Party.

WE ASK A READING BY ALL.

MESSRS. EDITORS: The selection of a person of conceded eminence and ability for any important public position in this country, is almost always followed by the bitterest invective of insolence and faction. There is a class of men, not all outside the editorial profession either, who get their ideas, when they have any, from certain assumed letters, who never examine any subject for themselves, and if they do, are either too cowardly or dishonest to publish the truth even when plainly demonstrated, waiting for the more courageous wolf to make the flint snap. Each takes his turn as the victim passes down the line, and tones his howl to the note of his master.

The selection of James R. Doolittle as a candidate for Governor has drawn out the pack, and each in his way is repeating the charge of "treachery" with as much unction as if he believed it, and was unconscious that the past course of the Republican party of Wisconsin did not belie the assertion. Fortunately hate has had its day. Six years have served to cool down much of the prejudice excited by deliberate and selfish invention, and the public judgment is sufficiently cool to hear and recognize the truth.

I pass by all that is said about the reasons why Mr. Doolittle severed connection with the Democratic party, previous to the war, suffice to say that not a word having the faintest approach to truth or to the reasons publicly assigned for that act, have appeared in any radical paper during this canvass. With customary honesty,

they are simply denouncing what they formerly wisely applauded. What I design to do is to appeal to the record of the Republican party of Wisconsin, and by that try Judge Doolittle upon the charge of treachery so freely made, and in doing this I shall summon not the Democratic but the Republican editors themselves, and put them on the stand to prove my assertions.

Briefly and to the Record. In 1864-5 the Legislature submitted the question of negro suffrage to a vote of the people. The act of submission was itself strongly resisted by many leading Republicans, and its presentation as a party issue in 1865 caused great doubt and anxiety among timid leaders. The Democratic papers taunted their opponents with cowardice and dared them to make that issue in the canvass. No one knows better than the Madison Regency including the editors of the State Journal, that the party dare not meet that question, and that a policy of evasion was deliberately adopted to get rid of it. With the exception of some half dozen abolition papers it was publicly advocated by no one. In this emergency the Regency after the most strenuous efforts, induced Senators Howe and Doolittle to attend the State Convention at Madison, and draft its platform. This was drawn by Judge Doolittle, with the full knowledge and without the dissent of Judge Howe, to whom it was read in advance of presentation. It was delivered to the Convention and after a short dissension adopted by a large majority; and no persons were louder in the applause than the Madison Regency, including the editors of the Journal. On that platform a ticket was presented to the people, with Lucius Fairchild at the head, which, together with a Legislature was overwhelmingly elected. During the canvass there was not a single word favoring colored suffrage in the State Journal, and with the exceptions named, in any Republican press of the State. So timid was the proceeding that Gov. Fairchild refused to declare on which side he stood in any of his speeches during the canvass;

and at the polls, the people themselves voted it down by some six thousand majority. The only public expression in its favor was at a meeting held in Janesville during the State Fair, called by S. M. Booth, General Paine and others, which passed a series of resolutions on the subject, among them one declaring in so many words, that their action did not represent the sentiments of the Republicans of Wisconsin!

Here then was the spectacle of a ticket elected on a platform formally approved by a party and prepared at the urgent entreaty of its leaders, in which colored suffrage was purposely excluded. Who under such circumstances could have supposed that the officers thus elected, and the press that sustained them, would within two months after the canvass turn square around and assume that colored suffrage was the only test of Republican fealty—that members of the Legislature, fresh from the polls, where they had voted against it, would instruct Senator Doolittle to resign for not voting for it! That they did so is a matter of history, and shows the power of the party lash when laid on in caucus.

Who then was treacherous? These men who induced the preparation of that platform, without which they could not have been elected, or Judge Doolittle who adhered to it? The whole history of that canvass and of every other canvass, will prove that the Republican party never at any previous time advocated the extension of suffrage to the negro, and they owe it no gratitude for any thing it ever attempted to do for them. It was the Supreme Court of the State, and not the Republican party, that established this right. For proof of these things I appeal to the files of every party organ in the State. Not one of them dare publish the record, for it would convict them of falsehood beyond a chance of evasion.

If negro suffrage, therefore was not at that time good for Wisconsin, having about twelve hundred intelligent colored men, how came it to be so good a thing to enforce among four millions ignorant plantation hands? The entire sum of Mr.

Doolittle's sinning was a refusal to vote to put the South under colored rule. He predicted that it would be followed by disorder and disaster, and urged that the colored population should go through a preliminary education to fit them for complete citizenship. Has not the fact verified his predictions? What are armies spread all over the South six years after a war, but the evidence that he was right in his conclusions? Why are political conventions controlled by files of regular soldiers, and loaded cannon pointed on delegations of citizens engaged in holding local meetings of their own? Why is this restless spirit of insubordination everywhere manifested?—this urgent entreaty for oppression to cease? Why are four great states placed absolutely in the hands of the Africans, and the white race reduced to a nullity, having no voice in the laws made to govern them, or a word to say as to the disposal of public funds they themselves have earned? What else does the Republican press do daily but give publicity to the anguish and despair of eight million whites pinned down by bayonets, and ruled by men so characterless and worthless that even Horace Greeley vomits at the spectacle.

Every honest and sincere man must admit that Judge Doolittle predicted the truth, and that his political offence consisted in refusing to betray his convictions to meet the demands of partizanship. It was not he that changed. It was a refusal to change that brought on his head the concentrated venom of excited partizanship. The easy political virtue that can take form and shape to suit the whims of the moment forms no part of his career. He has proved firm when firmness was dangerous—has seen troops of men whom he had created from nothing turn and thrust their spears in his side upon the least sign of alarm, and trample upon every political profession in his very face, while accusing him of their own weakness. History will yet vindicate his record. Falsehood cannot always triumph over truth and justice. Even his meanest

enemies have never pretended to deny his absolute and unimpeachable honesty. Neither presents nor bribes have ever stained his hands. His private life has ever been a model of purity. Malignity itself halts when it contemplates a character without blemish or reproach. Partisanship may blind the vision, but can never permanently obscure the record of a public man greater than his time. Such a man is James R. Doolittle.

TRUTH.